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together with eipó, 180 cm. long, more or less, which permits the fish to enter but not to escape (fig. 5). Nowadays it is the custom to close this door at midnight in order to place the drug (timbó) in the water of the channel by five o'clock in the morning."

Formerly, a cone-shaped basket (T., pɛ̨rɛ:'; l.g., *jiquy*) was also placed at the entrance of the weir. This was made of anajá strips, its length being 2.5 m., the mouth 1 m. in diameter; from the mouth inward there was a sort of funnel made of stems with sharp points to impede the return of the fish, once they had entered. With this, as has been already mentioned, the Tukuna use the stupefying juices of certain plants, small bushes called generically "timbó" in the lingua geral. The most active poison is provided by a broad-leafed species, ɛ'ĵṅ, which crops up nearly spontaneously in old second-growth jungles but is often cultivated as well, even today. Aside from this there are a large-leafed species, va'ĵ/pɛ̨, and one with tiny leaves, na:'mi, both being cultivated. The drugged fish are captured with a dip net, puçá (described on p. 00). Certain fish, such as *acarís*, are even caught by hand.

The species of greatest economic importance are:

Lingua geral	*Scientific*	Tukuna
pirarucú	*Arapaima gigas*	dɨ'ɛ̨i
tambaquí	*Colossoma bidens*	tɔ'makaɛ̨i
curimatá	*Prochilodus* sp.	kauɨ'ya
aracú	*Leporinus* sp.	ɔ'ta
tucunaré	*Cichla* sp.	tukuna'ri
pacú	*Myteles* sp.	a'ta'ɛ̨inikĵ
sardinha (P.)	*Chalcinus* sp.	a'raviri
surubim	*Platystoma* sp.	dyu'ta
piranha	*Serrasalmo* sp.	vɛ̨u'ma
trahira	*Macrodon* sp.	dɨ̃
matrinchan	*Characinus* sp.	ãɨ̃ɨ̃ĵ'

Aquatic chelonians are shot with the arrow harpoon (sararáca), or are surprised while laying eggs on the beach. The turtle of the species *Emys amazonica* (ba:'vɛ̃), now threatened with extinction, is no longer an important food for the Tukuna; but the species *E. dumerilíana* (tɔri')[11] is still abundant, and it, as well as its eggs, plays an important role in the aboriginal kitchen. The *matamatá* (*Chelys fimbriata*; T., nayarɛ̃) is rare.

The peixe-boi, or manatee (*Manatus inunguis*; T., a'iruvɛ̃), is rarely caught. The Tukuna do not kill the red dolphin (*Delphinus* sp.), notwithstanding their dislike for it because it scares away the fish.

Hunting

Game, which was tolerably abundant until about fifty years ago, is now rare because of the rise in the price of leather and the use of modern firearms which are sold to the Indians. In some isolated sloughs a lucky hunter may succeed in killing a tapir, pig, or deer.

[11] Literal translation; meaning not clear. Possibly the door is closed at this time in order to collect enough fish during these hours to justify the use of the drug.—Trans.

[11] On p. 25 this species is given as *Emys tracaja*; on p. 22 the author refers to it as *Podocnemis*.—Trans.

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VII. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Clans

The tribe is divided into some thirty clans, grouped into moieties, whose names I could never discover; I shall therefore refer to them here simply as A and B. The Tukuna language has only one word, kja', for both tribe and clan. In Brazil, moiety A has fifteen clans, moiety B twenty-one. It is possible that in Colombia and Peru there are Tukuna clans that are not represented in Brazil. Descent is patrilineal. Members of different clans but of the same moiety deal with one another reciprocally as ma'i^{w}e, "brother" (vocative).

The Tukuna know that, whether in Peru, Colombia, or Brazil, they form a homogeneous and distinct people compared with the other Indian tribes or the Neo-American nations. However, they have never had the slightest political cohesion.

A certain feeling of solidarity unites clansmen, even extending to all the clans of the same moiety. At least I noticed that, if no other considerations were involved, in any problem the Indian would automatically place himself and his sympathies on the side of the members of his clan or moiety without, however, being morally obligated to aid them.

Of the fifteen clans of moiety A, twelve have the names of trees, two the names of insects, and one the name of a mammal.

Clans of Moiety A

Clan	Related Tree or Animal	Additional Correlation
a:'ru	auahy grande (*Thevetia* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurá, squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.)
čɛ̃'vɛ̃ru	auahy pequeno (?), a bird	
na'i^{w}yɛ̨ɛ̨	saúva (*Atta* sp.), ant	Tessmann's "náika"
tɛ̨ku	saúva (another species?)	
čiva'	seringarana, a tree	a'i (onça *pintada*), spotted jaguar, Tessmann's "áika"
nɛ̃'/a|'	pau mulato, a tree (sp. ?)	nɛ̃'/ma suçuarana (*Felis concolor*)
čɛ̃ɛ̃'	acapú, tree (*Vouacapoua* sp.)	a'iru, dog
ɛ̃	genipapo (*Genipa* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurá, squirrel, (*Sciurus* sp.) (another sp. ?)
pu'k|rɛ̃	muirapiranga (*Brosium* sp.)	
ču^{w}a	caraná (*Mauritia carana*, Wall.)	
tɛ̃'ma	burity grosso (*Mauritia* sp.)	
va'ira	açahy (*Euterpe* sp.)	
a'ičanari	genipapo do igapó, tree (sp. ?)	
kɛ̃'turɛ̃	maracajá grande (*Felis pardalis*)	
nyɛ̃'ni^{w}ɛ̃i	burity fino (*Mauritia* sp.)	

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Of the trees, five are identified with animals. Probably the clan kə̈'turə̈ (maracajá grande; *Felis pardalis*) is also to be identified with some tree, perhaps with the pu'kirə̈, but of this I am not certain. The identification of trees with mammals is due to the mystic Tukuna conception of the soul (nai^{a}-arɨ ma'-ṅ) which certain trees possess. The tree's soul leaves it during the night in the form of the animal with which the tree is identified, returning at daybreak. "a'i-kɨa' na i^{a}i^{a} ya čiva'" ("Clan Jaguar is seringarana") or "a'i na i^{a}i^{a} na-a'e ya čiva'" ("Seringarana has the soul of the painted jaguar"). In vain I tried to discover the reason for including the two clans having insect names with these clans that have tree names; no soul of a tree takes the saúva ant as its nocturnal form. Two informants told me independently that the relation between trees and saúva was that the ants were in the habit of crawling on trees.

All the clans of Moiety B have the names of birds.

Clans of Moiety B[1]

Clan	Related Bird	Additional Correlation
ta'u	toucan (*Rhamphastos* sp.)	
tuyuyu'	tujujú (*Tantalus loculator*)	
alvə̈'ru	urumutúm (*Nothocrax urumutum*)	
kaurə̈'	japihím (*Cassicus cela*, L. sp.)	
barɨ'	japú (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.)	
ãɔɨ'	arara vermelho (*Ara macao*)	
čara'	arara canindé (*Ara ararauna*)	
vɔɔ'	maracanã grande (*Ara maracana* ?)	
a'/ta	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
və̈u'	parrot (*Amazona* sp.)	
ãu/nɛ^{a}	mutum cavallo (*Mitua mitu*)	Tessmann's "ndenoka"
mɔru	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
ə̈'/ča	urubú rei (*Gypagus papa*)	
da:'vɨ	gavião real (*Thrassaetus harpya*)	
pu^{a}a'ka	arapaço (*Nasica* sp.)	
ɔta'	chicken	
ə̈'/nə̈	parakeet (*Conurus* sp. ?)	
dyavɨru'	jaburú (*Mycteria americana*)	
ãa'u^{a}a	socó (*Ardea* sp.) or magnary (*Ardea cocoi*)	

The relations between the clan member and the tree or animal the name of which he bears are extremely few and do not follow any rule whatsoever.

It is clear that members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', formerly used facial tattooing in designs similar to the facial feathering of these birds. I did not suc-

[1] It will be noted that the author lists only 19 clans here, although he has previously referred to 21.—Ed.

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VIII. LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy

After intercourse, conception depends on the will of the goddess ta-ë': it is she who gives the fetus its body and soul. When, overburdened with tasks, ta-ë' grows careless, the child is born with defects in mind or body. 842 [776]

We have already noted (pp. 22 and 46) the effects of a pregnant woman's intrusion in a clay pit or at maize planting, but on the whole there are few restrictions for her. She eats peppers lest the fetus become too fat, which would complicate birth; she eats the tripes of the alligator (jacaré-tinga) so that the child shall be born with a clear skin; and drinking the water of the *cipó barí* during pregnancy produces the same effect, as does staring at persons of white skin. Whoever eats double bananas will have only daughters. A real diet during pregnancy appears never to have been prescribed. If a girl is bitten by a type of ant called kaë'na, she will subsequently have children of a dark complexion. 843 [825]

Voluntary abortion.—A woman sometimes produces abortion in order to avoid the shame of having a "disqualified" child, i.e., one that belongs to no clan because its father is a Neobrazilian. Thus, an Indian girl named Neca, of the Rio Jacurapá, finding herself pregnant by a Neobrazilian, confessed her condition to her mother; both then concealed the affair from the girl's father, whom they feared, because he was a somewhat violent man. When Neca could no longer hide her pregnancy, the mother took her into the garden patch, where she succeeded in aborting the child by treading on the girl's belly. 847

According to legend, after an abortion, the cadaver of the fetus goes to ta-ë', who cooks it in a pot until it disintegrates. When the pan becomes full, the goddess keeps it until the death of the sinner, and thus addresses the soul when it arrives: "Thou hast slain the child I gave thee; now eat of thy property!" The sinful mother must eat the stew to the last morsel, however much she may beg and wail that she can eat no more. 847 775

Twins.—Twins (ta tarë'/pị; tarë, two) are not overly welcome since they increase the mother's work, but they are not killed. I myself knew a married couple in Igarapé de São Jeronymo who had twins; the reason was given me by an Indian, who asserted that the mother, while yet a child, had eaten double bananas. Others simply say that twins are due only to the will of ta-ë'. 845

Birth

When parturition is near, the husband erects a temporary platform close to the ground and hidden in a thicket some thirty paces behind the house. As soon as the pains begin, the woman is conducted there, where her hammock and mosquito bar are rigged up, and a piece of tururí bark cloth is spread over the platform. Her mother, aunt, or eldest sister attends her, the husband remaining in the house. If there are difficulties, a medicine man is sent for; smoking a tauary cigarette, he makes gestures with his hands as if he were opening some invisible object from below. 844 [755]

Blows on the back with the mouth of a manioc press are also recommended in difficult labor. The woman squats on her heels on the platform, with her arms

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [?] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vi̯ta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auĭ'maua was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auĭ'maua wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaĩará* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auĭ'maua grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auĭ'maua extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auĭ'maua, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pö gi̯ na ñe'i pö ñʊ a'öö!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue"[5] and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyʊv̯kị̯, but kị̯ means only "person," and in general the term dyu'vi̯ta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[a] ar̯i̯ ma:'ṅ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ẽ), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ẽpivũ.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curadoe*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyu'vi̯ta; see above.—Trans.

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choose [the powers he desires]: "Do you want these two?" They are good ones. Or those two? They are bad ones. Or these others?" The disciple swallows the ones chosen.

On the following day the master teaches his pupil the songs of the tree spirits, and at night asks one of them to visit the pupil. It comes to him in a dream in human form, about the size of a four-year-old child, and hands the dreamer a small gourd with a tobacco infusion, which he drinks. Then the spirit asks him what he wishes, and the disciple indicates his desire to have the spirit as an assistant. Then the spirit sings his song (na'ẽ), which the novice learns and sings after the visitor's departure.

When this initiation is completed, the master does not fail to advise the learner in forceful and energetic terms never to abuse his acquired powers but to employ them exclusively against "our enemies," that is, against evil sorcerers, so that he will not, beneath the cudgels of avengers, die before his time.

Witchcraft through "thorns".[1]—However, for a shaman the temptation to employ his acquired powers against any object of private disaffection is great and, if the new shaman has not already received any magical substances (ta:'kaka) of evil effect, he asks one of the spirit trees that possess thorns, especially the pupunha palm and the açacú, for them. At the foot of one of these trees he clears a spot, and on it he places a small gourd with a cigarette rolled in the inner bark of tauarí lying across the top. The following morning he finds in the pot the ta:'kaka, which contains (in an altered state) the thorns requested; this he swallows. The thorns, the sorcerer's "arrows," are placed on his right forearm; the "bow" is his left forearm.

Even so, the sorcerer does not shoot his projectiles with the motion of an arrow release. Going alone into the jungle after sunset, he concentrates the magic substances on his right thumb, and, giving a flick with the thumbnail placed beneath the nail of the third finger, he speeds the thorns on their way toward the victim. Some shamans, as far as can be ascertained, vomit the ta:'kaka, afterward throwing it with the hand. The thorns, always male and female, penetrate the body of the bewitched invisibly, and usually insensibly; there they meet and reproduce in great numbers, spreading throughout the entire body via the bloodstream, corrupting it and causing death, unless a competent person intervenes in time.

The sick person has recourse to a shaman, whose first care is to see in a dream the perpetrator of evil. Afterward, by feeling the patient he locates the thorns and extracts them by sucking. A treatment with vegetable medicines completes the cure (see p. 23). The medicinal properties of many plants are general knowledge, and they may be used by anyone; it is only hoped that the shaman may have more extensive knowledge of them.

Occasionally the Tukuna employ a curious medicine to provoke vomiting. In the igapós of their territory, a tree frog (*Phyllomedusa* sp.; T., ba'koro, in imitation of the croak) is found fairly frequently, which has a vivid green back, a whitish belly, and on its flanks a slime of soapy consistency that disintegrates in water. The creature moves extremely slowly, hence it is easily captured. The Indians

[*] Magical substances are always in pairs, male and female.

[1] *Espinhos:* lit., "thorns," "boils," "afflictions." After examination of the context, I believe that "thorns" is the best term.—Trans.

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825 757 catch it by means of a leaf and transfer the slime directly to the skin of the arm, in order to produce vomiting, for example, after a drinking bout.

754 *Other witchcraft.*—Thorns, however, are not the only means by which the sorcerers destroy the objects of their malevolence. Some harbor a venomous snake in their body and send it against the enemy. Others sing to the spirit of the "shaman log" rotting on the riverbank, transforming it into a snake that will bite the enemy as he passes. Not all snake bites are caused by witchcraft, however; there are snakes that, without having any connection at all with shamans, bite anyone who passes. Again, sorcerers send the ghosts of ferocious animals against the persons whom they wish to eliminate, causing the victims to provoke bloody quarrels in which they are killed. Others, by a method I failed to learn, cause madness in their victims, who commit suicide. The suicides described earlier, and one not mentioned, [762] were all attributed to the malefactions of the celebrated warlock, u'iru, whose death I shall relate farther on.

An interesting observation concerning this madness caused by witchcraft was made to me by Calixto daueru'kị, himself a shaman of no mean reputation: "The sorcerer can injure only fools, against the wise he can do nothing." For this reason the Tukuna believe that their warlocks are powerless against civilized persons. Quirino, who died in 1932, swore that, among the Tukuna of Peruaté, Peru, he had been an eyewitness to an act of sorcery, which he described as follows. One day, while yet a boy, he followed an old man going into the jungle. There Quirino watched him weave the figure of a jaguar from uarumã, on which he placed a strip of tururí stretching from the tip of the muzzle to the tip of the tail. He had received this tururí, as well as the uarumã, from the underworld, na:'pị (the habitation of the demons). He stretched the tururí until it covered the figure entirely, afterward painting it with black spots like those of a jaguar. Then he turned to the boy and said, "Do not be alarmed!" and tossed the figure on top of an anthill (*cupim*). Immediately it was transformed into a live jaguar, which ran off howling into the jungle. This jaguar killed people and brought their bodies to the old man, who ate them.

Quirino told his father what he had seen, and the news spread, coming to the attention of the civilized Peruvians, who ordered the old man arrested and burned. This story is interesting because it proves that warlocks maintain relations also with the demons of the underworld.

754 682 [787] *Identification of a murdering sorcerer.*—When a person is considered to have died as a result of witchcraft, his relatives do not always take the trouble to have the murdering sorcerer discovered. Sometimes, however, they call in a competent shaman, who smokes beside the corpse, goes to sleep, and sees in a dream the soul of the slayer coming to eat his victim. Formerly there were shamans who, after obliging everyone else to leave the house, sang in sight of the cadaver, smoked, and opened the earth invisibly by means of magic gestures with their hands. Through this aperture they invoked the warlock's soul, and as soon as it appeared they struck it down. The wounded soul immediately returned to the body of the sorcerer, who died within the hour.

754 Nino ɋvẽn[ᵊ]kị told me the following about the death of Marcellino, the famous sorcerer and chief of the čara' clan, at which he was present in 1938. The soul

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539 appeared near the house, and the hunters who pursued them caught sight of pova'ru among them. They surrounded and captured him, much against his will, and carried him home. He said that, every day at sunset, the pigs formed a circle about their chief. The chief masticated a fruit called ěrvě, whereupon a round, well-constructed house appeared in which the pigs passed the night.

aria'na returned and again carried pova'ru off to heaven. He got accustomed to living there, but returned to earth as often as he wished, since aria'na had by now furnished him with feathers. However, in the upper world there are many girls, and pova'ru began to dally with them. This annoyed aria'na, who forced him to return to earth again. pova'ru, however, had by now obtained some of the celestial magical substances, and as a result the earth maidens also pursued him.

pova'ru had relations with many girls and poked fun at aria'na before them, saying: "This aria'na, when she doesn't wish coitus, she makes her genitals vanish!" When aria'na received word of this she became furious and, soiling his feathers with resin, made it impossible for him to fly, so that he could never again return to heaven.

● [825] Somewhere in heaven live the king vultures. They are human in form, disguising themselves as birds only when they descend to earth.

The King Vultures

A girl one night placed in the house yard a water-filled earthen vessel for her brother to bathe in the next day, but the following morning she found the container empty except for some small manioc flat cakes. The next night she again placed the vessel with water in the same place, and the following morning discovered a piece of smoked meat in place of the water.

So the following night she placed the vessel at the edge of the igarapé and waited to see what would happen. At dawn a king vulture alighted in the house yard, glanced about, and said loudly enough for the girl to hear: "Today I have no bath water!" But going down to the igarapé he found the earthen vessel there. He removed his feather dress, lay down backward a moment, and, now in human form, bathed himself. While he was pouring water over himself, the girl, who had come behind him, removed the feather dress, hiding it in the house. Finished with his bath, the king vulture looked about everywhere for his costume, finally fleeing without it to hide in the jungle.

His daughter, waiting in heaven for his return, finally went down after him. Soon the costume in the house began to speak, telling the girl that the king vulture's daughter had arrived. Upon hearing this, the girl arranged with her brother that he should steal the daughter's cloak also. The daughter descended the aerial path of her father, circled above the yard of the house, and finally landed. Seeking and finding her father's trail, she followed it to the igarapé, where, feeling the urge to bathe, she removed her feathers. But while she was pouring water over herself, the girl's brother stole her cloak. Searching for it, she thought: "This must have happened to my father, also!" Then she again followed her father's trail and found him hidden in the jungle. "So, here you are," she said, "and where is your feather dress?" "They stole it," replied the king vulture. "And where is yours?" "They stole mine, too." "Then we must remain seated in the jungle for five days until our new feathers grow!" declared the king vulture.

Slowly the feathers began to grow. Meanwhile, the brother and sister tried to put on the stolen feathers in order to fly. The vulture and his daughter managed to fly again and, circling above the two mortals, decided to carry them to the upper world with them. The stolen garments cried out: "We are here, father!"

Hearing this, the siblings thought to hide the feathers outside the house and ran with them into the plantation. The king vulture, in human form, ran after them and asked them what they were doing. They did not recognize him, replying that they were attempting to put on the feather costumes. Then the king vulture showed them how to do so, first pressing their limbs together so that they could get into the costume, and later releasing them. Then the siblings managed to put on the costumes, but, once dressed, they could not take them off again. Thereupon the king vulture and his daughter put on their costumes of new feathers also, and took the two with them to heaven, where the king vulture married the girl and his daughter married the boy."

[825] See also the legend, "ěrvě in the Underworld."

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them" is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kị, "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[18] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

dʉ̈ẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named dʉ̈ẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curaná [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. dʉ̈ẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where dʉ̈ẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then dʉ̈ẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[18] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[19] The word means "judgment"; kʉ ãẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[20] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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539 paint the child. He forced ipi to climb the tree upside down and to pick the fruits with his feet. From above, ipi shouted that in the distance he could see people: they were the Omágua who were coming down the Rio Solimões, riding the current in their dugouts.

dyoi' caused an enormous fungus to grow round the tree trunk, but ipi, in the form of a tucandira ant, passed over the obstacle. Then dyoi' caused a spiny bush [*nanahy*] to appear at the foot of the tree, but ipi, in the form of a fleck of cotton, let himself fall lightly and reached the ground unharmed. Then dyoi' ordered him to grate the fruits. When these had been grated, he would not permit ipi to stop but compelled him to grate his hands, his arms, and finally himself, he being mixed in with the grated fruits. dyoi' painted the boy with it [the mixture], left the rest in the igarapé, and constructed an enclosure round it. Many small fish remained imprisoned within the enclosure, and so they grew up, feeding themselves from the substance.

The Creation of Mankind

dyoi' went hunting, but when he returned he gave nothing to tõčiarjâvi', so she suffered from hunger. She thought: "Oh, if e'pi were only here I should not be hungry!" dyoi' read her thoughts and asked: "Do you want my brother again?" "Yes," she replied, "because while he was here I lacked nothing." Then dyoi' ordered her to throw the remaining genipapo into the waters of the igarapé where she and the child were wont to bathe. Afterward he went to hunt and brought her many monkeys and birds so that she might eat her fill, since he was no longer angry with her. Afterward he constructed a fence of anajá palm stalks round the residue.

From the substance was generated a large number of small fish, but e'pi was not among them.[*] dyoi' began to angle for them with a hook, using a stone as bait at first. As soon as he pulled these fish out of the water they were transformed into jaguars. Then he tried with bait of urucuri hulls, and the fish he caught were transformed into squirrels. He tried fishing with tucumã hulls, and the fish thus hooked were changed into pigs. Finally, using sweet manioc as bait, he caught a fish which was transformed into an Indian.

He continued to fish with this bait until he had caught a large number of people. Suddenly, he sighted e'pi approaching in the shape of a fish with a golden spot on its head. dyoi' threw the bait to him several times, but e'pi did not bite. Then dyoi' called tõčiarjâvi' and handed her the hook; hardly had she thrown the line, when e'pi darted at the bait, allowing himself to be hooked and pulled ashore, where he immediately resumed his human form and began to tell this tale.

He had come from the land of gold [T., ʊ'irʊ, Lg., ouro, gold] in the east and, as soon as they should part again, would return there where there was this brilliant thing; and he said that dyoi' should go to the west. However, dyoi' first of all ordered him to fish for men also. But e'pi killed all his fish as soon as he had caught them, giving them no chance to become transformed into people, until tõčiarjâvi' showed him how to proceed.

Version collected in 1929.—The legend was told me in 1929, as follows.

When the fish in dyoi''s enclosure were large, he baited his hook with a stone and went there. All the fish he pulled ashore became pigs; because of this [the stone bait?] they have strong teeth. Then he fished with green maize, and the fish were transformed into Tukuna Indians; because of this [the maize bait?] they have teeth of poor resistance. Afterward he tried in vain for a long time to angle for his brother. At last, giving the hook to tõčariui, he said: "See if you can take out your lover!" ipi at once seized the hook, allowing himself to be pulled ashore, where he resumed his former shape. dyoi' then handed him the hook in order that he also should catch his people. ipi, however, killed all the fish he caught, before they had time to become people. dyoi' had to instruct him how to proceed, and then ipi with sweet manioc bait caught the Kokáma and the other tribes of the Peruvian Amazon. Finally dyoi' made Negroes from the rest of the genipapo.

Clan Recognition

A great number of these first people caught by dyoi' and e'pi were jumbled about without distinction. But dyoi' separated them, putting his to the east and e'pi's to the west. Then he ordered

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[*] The name e'pi is also applied to a small fish with a golden spot on its head.

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the house, and when her son cried, she said to mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ, "Give me my child!" But she could no longer speak properly. "What's the matter with you?" asked her husband. "Your mother cut off my lips," she replied. He lighted a torch and saw how she was disfigured. She left the house and never returned. 539

d) Again mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ went hunting. A band of macaws flew over his head. "Give me some of your maize beer!" shouted mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ. When he returned, a macaw girl was waiting for him at the precise spot with a large gourd of maize beer [chicha]. He drank it and took the girl home as his wife. His mother told the girl to prepare maize beer, threw down a quantity of corncobs that hung from the rafters, and left for the plantation. The girl roasted only one ear of corn and with it made beer enough to fill five large jars. Then she went off to bathe. When the mother returned to the house she tripped over the heap of maize and, seeing the cobs intact, began to scold, "This daughter-in-law of mine is the lazy one! She has not made beer for my son!" The girl, who was just then returning from her bath, heard the old woman scolding from afar.

Because of this she would not enter the house, and when her husband returned, she said that she was leaving. At dawn she told him that she wanted to retrieve her comb, which she had thrown on the roof thatch. Climbing up on the ridgepole, she began to sing:

"My mother-in-law has scolded me,
Now drink the beer alone may she!"

The old woman got up and, feeling around in the dark, found that the jars were filled. She called to the girl to return, and apologized, but her daughter-in-law refused to listen and transformed herself into a macaw. At daybreak she cried to mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ, "If you love me, follow me! Look for the nɔ̃ˀrɯ-pana [Lg., *louro chumbo*, laurel] tree, the splinters of which, falling into the water, become transformed into fish. Make a canoe from it and follow me downriver to Mount vaipʉ̃'!" [See p. 141]. And with this, she flew away to the east.

mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ ran to and fro like a crazy man all the next day, searching for the nɔ̃ˀrɯ-pana. He tried several trees with his axe, until finally the splinters of one, which was next to a pool in the igarapé, turned into fish upon falling into the water. He felled the tree and began to make his canoe. Each day when he returned from work he brought such a quantity of fish that his brother-in-law marveled; since he was a lazy incompetent, he secretly followed mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ to spy on him. When the splinters no longer turned into fish, mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ realized that someone was watching him. "Are you the one spying on me?" he shouted to his concealed brother-in-law. "Come out and help me!" When the canoe was ready, the two pushed it down the sloping bank into the igarapé. While the brother-in-law was standing in the shallow water, mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ suddenly reversed the canoe on top of him. Unable to crawl out unaided, the brother-in-law passed the night under the canoe, singing and crying. The next morning mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ came and released him, inviting his brother-in-law to accompany him down the Solimões. mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ was seated at the stern, and his brother-in-law was at the prow. Thus they drifted downstream without paddling. When they arrived among the people where the macaw girl was staying, all the inhabitants ran to the bank to see the canoe; mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ's wife, however, hid behind the others. The brother-in-law, transformed into a mɔ̃nɔ̃ˀn bird, flew up and lighted on her shoulders. The canoe with mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ still in it continued downstream a short way. Suddenly its prow turned up perpendicularly, and mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ, transformed into an aˀiʔaˀ bird, flew to the woman's other shoulder. The empty canoe continued to drift at the mercy of the current and finally entered a large lake, where it turned into a dyɨˀvaʒ̃. It is the lord of fish in the Solimões and sends the migratory shoals of fish (*piracemas*) from that lake. [825]

d) Now mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ married a girl of his own people. Every time she went to the landing, which was some distance from the house, her body divided into two sections at the waist: her abdomen with the legs remained lying on the bank, while the chest, head, and arms entered the water. The odor of fish would attract the matrinchan fish [*Characinus amazonicus*, Spix], and she would catch them with her hands, stringing them on a liana. Then her torso would crawl on its hands to the bank and would again adjust itself on the lower part, from which the spinal cord protruded to the length of a finger.

mɔ̃ˀmanɛˀkɨ's mother was greatly astonished at the amount of fish brought by her daughter-in-law. She made manioc beer [caiçuma] and ordered the girl to fetch water. However, as the

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undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

The upper world.—The upper world, which is much lower than the stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the residence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased (naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of that part of the soul called naáẽ (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcií) is manifest after death as the "shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

The lower world.—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dangerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears